THE HINDOO PATRIOT

With which is incorporated the Indian Field.

PUBLISHED EVERY MONDAY.

VOLUME XXXVII. NUMBER 51.

CALCUTTA:—MONDAY, DECEMBER 29, 1890.

Per Annum in Advance
TOWN 11-8
MOFUSSIL 13-4

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THE SIXTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

THE Sixth National Indian Congress was opened under very favorable auspices on Friday last. The scene of this annual gathering was the Tivoli Gardens where a spacious tent had been erected, gaily decorated by flags of every size, shape and color. It was approached by a long and wide covered way decorated in like manner, and provided with couches and chairs for the accommodation of the delegates. The tent itself was clothed with ample draperies of red, white and green cloth, and presented a very bright and gay appearance. Platforms were erected for the President, Members of Committees and distinguished visitors, and behind these was a slightly raised speakers' tribune from which all the addresses were delivered. The hour announced for the commencement of the proceedings was two o'clock, but at a much earlier period the delegates and visitors began to arrive and soon filled the tent from end to end. The total number of delegates attending the Congress was about 1400, thus exceeding the limit of 1000 imposed at the close of the last Congress in Bombay; and the seats reserved for the visitors were fully occupied. By way of passing the time pleasantly, and giving expression to their feelings of appreciation and gratitude, the meeting every now and then indulged in the favourite "three cheers" for one and then another of the prominent and popular leaders of the Congress as they chanced to appear upon the scene. Some difficulty was experienced in finding room for the members of the various committees, who were entitled to seats upon the platform, but by rather severe compression the task was accomplished. Tickets had been forwarded by the Secretaries of the Reception Committee to His Excellency the Governor-General and His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor, it being thought possible that some of the family or household of these two authorities might desire to visit the Pavilion and listen to the addresses. The tickets submitted to His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor were returned with a very courteous letter explaining that Sir Charles Elliott was unable to avail himself of them, all Government officials and their households being absolutely prohibited by the Government of India from attending any of the Congress Meetings. This letter was read to the few members assembled round the President's table before the opening of the proceedings and created some surprise mingled with amusement. It is not improbable we believe that this prohibition of officials attending even as visitors at the meetings of the Congress will form the subject of a reference to the English Government and an appeal to the House of Commons.

A few minutes after two o'clock the arrival of Mr. Pherozeshah M. Mehta, who had been designated as President, was greeted by a hearty burst of cheering.

Mr. Monmohun Ghose then ascended the tribune and delivered an address of welcome. He said:

Delegates to the National Congress,—It has devolved upon me to offer you our most hearty welcome on this great occasion. It has been impossible for me to decline the honour which the Reception Committee have thought fit to confer on me by asking me to be their Chairman, and in that capacity to welcome you in their name and on their behalf. That honour you will, I am sure, all agree with me, could not have been possibly conferred, in the first instance, upon an abler or worthier member of the Bengali community than my esteemed friend, the Hon'ble Sir Romesh Chunder Mitter. It is a matter of congratulation to all of us that although the cause of the administration of justice in these Provinces has suffered by his retirement from the high office which he lately held, he is now in a position to take an active interest in the proceedings of this great national demonstration, and to guide us by his varied experience and by his sound judgment. When I learnt that the state of his health had precluded him from occupying the position which legitimately belongs to him, and that it was his special desire that I should perform that duty, which of all men in our community, no one could have performed more gracefully or fittingly than he, I felt that I had no right by reason of my own incompetency and unworthiness to decline the high honour which my colleagues had decided to bestow on me. I conceive it is not only an honour, but a duty which every citizen owes to his country to respond cordially to any call which may be made upon him to assist in an undertaking which has for its object the welfare and the happiness of one's fellow-countrymen. On the last occasion when you assembled in this city, you were welcomed by one of the most distinguished citizens of Calcutta who, by reason of his profound scholarship and wide reputation, was eminently fitted to be the spokesman on behalf of the people of these Provinces. It is a matter of sincere regret to us all that long continued illness should have prostrated our distinguished friend, Raja Rajendralala Mitra, but it will be a source of gratification to you all to be assured that though tied down to his sick-bed, and therefore unable to greet you once more on behalf of the people of Bengal, his heart is entirely with us, and that he continues to be as staunch a supporter of this great movement as ever. (Cheers).

It is my painful duty to express to you on behalf of the Reception Committee our sorrow at the irreparable loss we have sustained in the course of the year by the death of one of our ablest and most zealous workers, I mean the late Babu Mohesh Chunder Chowdhury. In him Bengal has lost one of her truest patriots, and the National Congress, one of its most earnest supporters and active workers. I had the high privilege of enjoying his friendship for many years past, and I will unhesitatingly assert that this Presidency has not yet produced a man, whose memory ought to be more dearly cherished by us than that of my lamented friend, Mohesh Chunder Chowdhury. In simplicity of habits and purity of life he was essentially what a pious Hindu ought to be, while in breadth of views, in honesty of purpose and in general culture, few men excelled him even among the more favoured races of the West. Such a man the hand of death has somewhat prematurely removed from us, and before we had quite time to recover from the shock, we found ourselves deprived, though temporarily, of the valuable assistance and co-operation of two of our most energetic workers, one of whom, I regret to say, is unable, by reason of continued ill-health and domestic affliction, to be present to-day, I mean our distinguished friend, Mr. W. C. Bonnerji, while the other, after suffering from severe illness for some time, is I am glad to find, able, at any rate, to encourage us by his presence, though still too weak to cheer us by his eloquence. I refer to my friend, Mr. Surendra Nath Bannerji. (Cheers)

It is now four years since the National Congress met in this city. Since then you have assembled in the great cities of Madras, Allahabad and Bombay, in every one of which place the reception, accorded to the delegates, has been of such a character as to make us in Calcutta feel that after all we were able to do very little in connection with the Congress of 1886 to deserve the high rank, which is popularly assigned to Bengal as the most advanced and the wealthiest Province in India. I am afraid, with all our efforts this year to give you a fitting reception, our arrangements are defective in many respects; but this I can assure you on behalf of the people of Bengal, that they yield to no other Presidency in the heartiness and the cordiality of the welcome which they wish to offer to the distinguished representatives of the different parts of this great country who have honoured us with their presence to-day.

It is not within my province to discuss any of the topics which are likely to engage your attention this Session. But it is, I think, fitting that I should not sit down without making some general observations as regards the real aims and objects of the National Congress, and our course of action in the future. Our proceedings have been subjected to much and varied criticism, and for my part, I am glad that that should have been the case. All our proceedings, our discussions and our Resolutions are public property, and it is only right that they should be subjected to public scrutiny, for, I believe, we have everything to gain, and nothing to lose, from honest criticism, however unfavourable such criticism may be. That, besides legitimate criticism, the proceedings of such a body as ours should be subjected to vile and unworthy attacks, and our aims misrepresented and distorted, is a matter, which, however painful to us all, ought not to discourage and dishearten us, for what great cause in the history of this world has ever triumphed without, in the first instance, having met with unworthy and even rancorous opposition? Our opponents have not even hesitated to accuse the promoters of this movement of disloyalty to the British Government. If I could bring myself to believe that this accusation, however unfounded, had been honestly preferred by those who are responsible for starting it, I should have felt myself called upon to deal with it seriously, but the charge has always seemed to me so preposterous and so dishonest on the part, at any rate, of a large portion of our detractors that I think every speaker in this Hall ought to treat it with silent contempt. There is, I believe, no one present here who in his heart of hearts does not feel that at no period in the history of India were life and property more secure than they are at the present day. If English rule in India had done nothing more than that, we should even then have ample reason to be grateful to England, for, as you know, the establishment of peace and the maintenance of law and order are the first requisites for the happiness of a people. To my mind our allegiance to the British Government is based not only on the feeling of gratitude which the benefits conferred upon us must evoke in our hearts, but also upon the highest grounds of expediency; for every sane man in India, who is capable of thinking, must feel that any change of Government at the present time would be the greatest calamity that could befall on the people of this country. That we should have been better pleased if we could have governed ourselves as well as we are governed by England, is a sentiment which we need not, in the least, shrink from avowing, because not only is such a feeling natural, but it is perfectly consistent, to my mind, with true loyalty to England.

The National Congress movement was fittingly described last year by my friend, Mr. Pherozeshah M. Mehta while welcoming the delegates in Bombay, "as the grandest outcome of British rule in India." To that description I will venture to add that it is also the natural and, indeed, the inevitable outcome of the generous policy, pursued by England in this country. The fact which we all gratefully acknowledge, namely, that India is now better governed than before, or the fact that no other Asiatic country is, at the present time, better governed, furnishes no argument whatever against the demands, made by us with the sole object of improving the administration of the country. The English people have no right to complain if we refuse to judge of their acts and professions as rulers of this country, by any standard lower than what they themselves have taught us to respect and admire. If England has been instrumental in teaching an Asiatic people a higher code of political morality, she can scarcely complain with any show of reason if we expect her strictly to adhere to that code in the government of her own dependencies, and to carry out the professions and declarations which have from time to time been made in her name and on her behalf. The great demonstration of to-day, I think, we are all agreed, implies nothing more than this that much as England has done for us, she has yet a great deal more to do, or, in other words, that the administration of India is *not* perfect, but that there is still considerable room for improvement and reform. This, I believe, to be the key-stone of this great national movement. It is not a movement, intended in the slightest degree to embarrass or hamper the Government of the country, but to assist that Government by every means in the great and difficult task in which it is engaged. Viewed in this light, and, I am sure, you all agree with me that it is our most anxious desire that it should be viewed in no

other light, I fail to understand how it is that we havet not yet met with a sympathetic recognition at the hands of those who are responsible for the good government of this country.

It is impossible in any country to carry on the work of government for any length of time without consulting the wishes and wants of those who are governed, and it is obvious that when the government of a country is practically in the hands of foreign people, it is all the more necessary for that Government, and indeed it is its duty, if it is to exist for any good purpose, to ascertain the wishes and even the aspirations of those who are governed. If then such a duty is cast upon those who are called upon to govern, it is equally the duty of the people themselves to acquaint the Government by all constitutional means with their own wishes and their requirements. We are not so unreasonable as to expect that all our suggestions should be at once carried out or that all our demands should be at once granted without due consideration. All that we desire is that our suggestions should be honestly and sympathetically considered, and if difficulties, which we ourselves may fail to percieve, should deter the Government of the day from acceding to any of our wishes, we may be taken into the confidence of the Government, so to speak, in order that we may be in a position to help it, if we can, in grappling with those difficulties. (Hear hear.) This, I believe is the true position, the National Congress in India desires to occupy. An idea is said to prevail among certain officials in the vicinity of Whitehall as well as in this country to the effect that the supremacy of England in India is mainly based upon the disunion of the different races, existing in this country, and that any attempt to unite them, even to a limited extent, and upon a common political platform, is fraught with ulterior danger to the safety of the British Empire. I cannot for a moment believe that any Englishman having any claims to statesmanship, can seriously entertain such an idea, based as it is altogether upon a superficial, and, I venture to think, an erroneous conception of facts.

To divide and rule is a wicked policy, as unworthy of the great English people as it is practically impossible, after what they have themselves done for us; because you can no more keep the different races of this country disunited in feelings and sentiment for any length of time, than you can abolish your schools and your colleges, your railroads and telegraphs. But then it is asked, "whom does the National Congress represent"? "What right has it to speak on behalf of the masses of the people who know nothing about the Congress"? My answer is, the National Congress represents the thinkng portion of the people of India. The delegates present here to-day are the chosen representatives of that section of the Indian people, who have learnt to think, and whose number is daily increasing with marvellous rapidity. It is perfectly correct that the ignorant masses whom we seek to represent, are still unable to take an active interest in the great social and administrative problems which are now engaging the attention of the educated classes; but history teaches that in all countries and in all ages it is the thinking classes who have led the unthinking, and in the present state of our own society, we are bound not only to think for ourselves, but to think for those who are still too ignorant to exercise that important function. If by reason of the peculiar intellectual condition of the people of India, we are seeking to represent not only those who have actually chosen us as their delegates, but others who are still incapable of exercising any choice in the matter, I am sure, we are not insensible of the grave responsibilities which we are incurring by such a course. Our duty to our less favoured countrymen requires that we should not shrink from incurring those responsibilities, and trying to speak on their behalf. I believe, we are all agreed that it is our duty to educate our ignorant countrymen not only to think, but to think rightly to instill into their minds the fundamental doctrine that the happiness of a people primarily depends upon the maintenance of law and order in the country, and that if they have any grievances, the only way to obtain redress is to agitate by peaceable and lawful methods. In trying to discharge so obvious a duty, we can well afford to be ridiculed as "self-styled delegates," or as belonging only to a "microscopic minority." Gentlemen, I feel, I ought not to trespass much longer on your patience, but there is one other accusation to which I cannot help alluding, although it has been satisfactorily answered at more than one of our previous gatherings. I refer to the charge, so often repeated, that the National Congress as a body is opposed to social reforms. Such an accusation is based upon an entire misapprehension of the scope and functions of the National Congress, whose object, as I have already explained is to point out to the Government what we conceive to be the defects in the administration of the country, and to ask only for such reforms as we are ourselves absolutely incapable of introducing without the aid of he Government. Now, the many questions of social reform which are at present engaging the attention of the educated classes throughout India, are questions, the solution of which is entirely in the hands of the people themselves. It is open to all of us to live as we like, or to eschew or alter at any time any custom which we may consider inconvenient or mischievous. The remedy being entirely in our own hands, we can apply it whenever we choose. Besides, it should be borne in mind that the Congress is composed of diverse communities, each having its own religion and its peculiar usages, and it would be impossible for such a body to discuss the social customs of a particular community, based as they often are upon religious ideas regarding which the members of another community-professing a different religion, have no adequate knowledge or information. But it by no means follows that the promoters of the National Congress are not as keenly alive to the importance of social as they are to that of political reforms. The same educational agency which has given life to the National Congress has already helped to bring about enormous social changes throughout India. Half-a-century is but a day in the life of a nation, and any one who compares the state of Indian society of the present day with what was the case even 30 years ago cannot but be surprised at the rapidity with which we have moved in social matters during this period. If there are some who think we ought to have moved still faster, they, in my opinion, ignore altogether the enormous difficulties against which we have to contend in this matter. There are movements of a very important character, already set on foot among the different communities of our people to promote the cause of social and religious reform, and, in my humble judgment, we should be travelling out of our legitimate province if we were to deal with such questions in this assembly. Those who know my own views, will readily believe that I yield to none in the country in attaching importance to the question of social reform, but at the same time I cannot but feel that it is our duty, however keenly we may feel on the subject, to remember that any precipitate or inconsiderate action, before the creation of a healthy public opinion in a community, is often apt to retard progress, and to defeat the very object we have in view. (Hear, hear.) We ought to be thankful to our English friends for any suggestions, they may be disposed to make to us on the question of social reform, so long as those suggestions are made in a sympathetic spirit, but at the same time we must ask them to bear in mind that it is impossible for an outsider or a foreigner to realise adequately the difficulties which the different Indian communities have to contend against in matters of social reform. Our English friends whose kind sympathy and advice our social reformers are always delighted to have, may also be asked to remember that the decision of the question as to what reforms should or should not be introduced, must from the very nature of the case rest with the Indian people themselves, and that, therefore, the true remedy lies in educating the people, and creating a healthy public opinion on questions of social reform. To my mind, this gathering itself must have the effect indirectly of giving a great impetus to the cause of social reform. It is true that there are social problems, connected with our domestic life of so important and pressing a character, that in my opinion the sooner we direct our attention to them, and deal vigorously with them, the better for our country, but all I say is that there are questions with which the Congress, composed as it is of different communities, ought not, at present, to have any direct co ncern.

I have thus far dwelt upon criticisms, which have emanated chiefly from members of the Anglo-Indian community and the English Press,but before I conclude, I may be permitted to allude to one argument which I have sometimes heard used by some of our own people, who are in sympathy with the Congress. I have heard it asked, "what good result has the Congress secured to us?" To those desponding spirits among us who are apt to indulge in such an argument, I cannot do better than reply in the words of one who spent his noble life in agitating for the good of his own country and of mankind in general, and whose name is deservedly cherished by us all in India. In 1885, when I had the honour of a long interview with the late Mr. John Bright at Birmingham, he told me as I was coming away, "Tell your people on your return home that they must not expect immediate results nor must they lose heart if they do not get what they want. The English people themselves have not obtained any concession from their own Government without long and persistent agitation. It took Cobden and myself 30 years to get the Corn laws repealed. Tell your people, as coming from me, that they do not deserve to succeed if they expect immediate results." I trust that this message, sent to us by that great champion of our rights a few years before his death will encourage you all to persevere in the great cause which you have taken up. Remember that this is only a beginning of a great struggle, and that these annual gatherings of ours are but physical representations of that great and wonderful national awakening which is taking place everywhere in India. (Cheers). The sight that we witness to-day, may well justify any one of us indulging in the reverie of the great English poet when he exclaimed:—"Methinks, I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep and shaking her invincible locks. Methinks, I see her as an eagle running her mighty youth and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full midday beam, purging and unsealing her long abused sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance, while the whole noise of timorous and flocking birds with those also that love the twilight, flutter about, amazed at what she means, and, in their envious gabble, would prognosticate a year of sect and schisms."

Gentlemen, I once more beg to offer you a hearty welcome, and I ask you to proceed to the business of the day by electing a President for the Sixth Indian National Congress. (Loud cheers.)

SIR ROMESH CHUNDER MITTER (late Chief Justice) said that the duty assigned to him was an important one, as it would secure to the Congress a leader who would guide it in its deliberations, and whose name would, he was sure, be received with acclamation. By his distinguished career at the bar of the Bombay High Court and the conspicuous part which he had taken in the discussion of many important public questions the name of Mr. Pherozesha Mehta (cheers) had become almost a household word among all educated persons in India; and he enjoyed the confidence and respect not only of the province to which he belonged but of the sister provinces. He begged, therefore, to propose that Mr. Pherozeshah Mehta be elected President of the National Congress for 1890. (cheers).

The motion was seconded by Nawab Shamsud-dowla, and supported by Mr. Anunda Charloo and Nawab Golam Robbani, and unanimously adopted.

MR. PHEROZESHA MEHTA then took the chair, and delivered the following address:—

GENTLEMEN,—I beg to tender to you my most sincere thanks for the honor you have done me in calling me to preside over your deliberations this year. I cannot imagine a greater honour for a native of this country than to be elected, by your free and spontaneous suffrages, President of an Assembly which is now one of the recognized institutions of the country—an unconventional Convention of the Empire which, we may say without undue ostentation, has already earned a place in history,—not less surely, let us trust than the famous St. Andrew's Dinner of this city,—as making an epoch in the march of events, moulding the lofty destinies of this magnificent land. In speaking of myself as a native of this country, I am not unaware that incredible as it may seem, Parsis have been both called and invited and allured to call themselves, foreigners. If twelve centuries, however, entitle Angles and Saxons, and Normans and Danes, to call themselves natives of England, if a lesser period entitles the Indian Mahomedans to call themselves natives of India, surely we are born children of the soil, in which our lot has been cast for a period of over thirteen centuries, and where, ever since the advent of the British power, we have lived and worked, with our Hindu and Mahomedan neighbours, for common aims, common aspirations, and common interests. To my mind, a Parsi is a better and truer Parsi, as a Mahomedan or a Hindu is a better or truer Mahomedan or Hindu the more he is attached to the land which gave him birth, the more he is bound in brotherly relation and affection to all the children of the soil, the more he recognizes the fraternity of all the native communities of the country, and the immutable bond which binds them together in the pursuit of common aims and objects under a common Government. Is it possible to imagine that Dadabhai Naororji, for instance, true Parsi that he is, is anything but an Indian, living and working all his life, for all India, with the true and tender loyalty of a son? Can any one doubt, if I may be allowed to take another illustration, that Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was greater and nobler, when he was devoting the great energies and talents with which he is endowed, —if, for the benefit of Mahomedans in particular.—for the benefit of all Indians in general, than when he is now preaching a gospel of selfishness and isolation? The birthright, therefore, gentlemen, which the Parsis thus possess of so indefeasible and glorious a character, they have refused and will always refuse to sell for any mess of pottage, however fragrant and tempting. More especially, therefore,

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as an Indian it is, that I return to you my grateful thanks for the honour you have done me.

I have ventured, gentlemen, to ascribe to the Congress the credit of making an epoch in Indian political progress. A very brief survey of the incidents of the twelve months that have elapsed since we last met, will amply justify our title to that distinction. In the admirable address which was delivered by my predecessor in this chair at Allahabad, Mr. Yule pointed out that all movements of the kind in which we are concerned, pass through several phases, as they run their course. The first is one of ridicule. That is followed, as the movement progresses, by one of abuse, which is usually succeeded by partial concession and misapprehension of aim, accompanied by warnings against taking big jumps into the unknown. The final stage of all is a substantial adoption of the object of the movement, with some expression of surprise that it was not adopted before. Well, gentlemen, we have pretty well passed the first two stages. We have survived the ridicule, the abuse, and the misrepresentation. We have survived the charge of sedition and disloyalty. We have survived the charge of being a miscroscopic minority. We have even survived the charge of being guilty of the atrocious crime of being educated. We have also managed to survive the heavy charge of being all Babus in disguise.

The question of our loyalty is set at rest for ever. In the debate on Lord Cross's India Councils Reform Bill in the House of Lords, Viceroy after Viceroy bore emphatic testimony to the loyal and peaceful character of our aims and efforts. Within the last few days, the voice of no less a personage than one of our former Secretaries of State, has confirmed this testimony. Lord Randolph Churchill—it is to no less distinguished a public man that I refer, has publicly declared that "he could sincerely remark that no one will rejoice more than himself, if the deliberations of the Indian National Congress shortly to be resumed, were to contribute effectually to the progress and the welfare of the Indian people." It is made clear that we have not learnt the lessons of history so badly, as to demand the introduction of the full-blown representative institutions which, in England, have been the growth of centuries. It is made clear that we have not asked for even such a modicum, as was enjoyed by the English people even before the time of Simon de Montfort, more than five centuries ago, nay, that we have not asked even for representative institutions of a governing or ruling character at all. Indeed, so far as this historical argument is concerned, we have not only proved that we have, not only, not been guilty of disregarding it, but we have been successful in turning the tables upon our adversaries. We have shown that it is they, who defy the lessons of history and experience, when they talk of waiting to make a beginning, till the masses of the people are fully equipped with all the virtues and all the qualifications which adorn the citizens of Utopia, in fact, till a millenium has set in when we would hardly require such institutions at all. We have shown that people who indulge in such vain talk, have never understood the laws of human progress, which, after all, is a series of experiments, and in which men and institutions re-act upon each other for their improvement and perfection. We have also proved that, in spite of our education, and even with our racial and religious differences, the microscopic minority can far better and far more intuitively represent the needs and the aspirations of their own countrymen than the still more microscopic minority of the imaginary District Officers, whose colloquial knowledge of the Indian languages seldom rises above the knowledge of English, for instance, possessed by French waiters at Paris Hotels which proudly blazon forth the legend—'Ici on parle Anglais', and whose knowledge of Native domestic and social life and ways and habits of thought seldom extends beyond flattering expressions of the Saheb's greatness and paternal care, sometimes inspired by courtesy, and sometimes by interest. An amusing story was related to me of a little incident that occurred only the other day which is not without instruction, as illustrating the amount of knowledge possessed by Anglo-Indians of the people among whom they have moved for years. The wife of a Member of Parliament, come out on a visit to India this year—herself as distinguished as her husband for her kindly sympathy in Indian welfare,—was sitting next at dinner to a learned member of my profession, who, in the course of conversation, grew humorous and sarcastic by turns, in the fashion of M. Rudyard Kipling, on the ridiculous and outrageous pretensions of globe-trotters to know the country and its people better than Anglo-Indians who had lived in it for years. He was rattling away, well satisfied with himself and the impression he thought, he was producing on the lady, when, with the sweetest of smiles, she gently asked him how long he had been himself in India. Fifteen years—more or less—was the answer. I suppose, you know well, Sir.—— naming a gentleman whose recent elevation to the Bench of one of our High Courts was received everywhere with pleasure and approbation. Of course, I do, said his brother in the same profession. Can you tell me if he has only one wife or more than one? Slowly came the answer, no, I don't. I have been only a few days in the country, said the lady quietly, and yet I think I know a thing or two which you don't. I trust, my learned friend, who is the hero of this story, was properly grateful to the lady for giving him some serious food for reflection. Then, gentlemen, our right to the designation of a National body has been vindicated. It is so admirably set forth in an article which appeared in a Conservative Review—*The National*—from the pen of a Conservative, who, however, speaks so much from the fulness of intimate knowledge, that I cannot resist the temptation of borrowing from it. "The supposed rivalry," says the writer "between Mussulmans and Hindus is a convenient decoy to distract attention and to defer the day of reform. I do not wish to affirm that there is no antagonism between the adherents of the two faiths; but I do most positively assert that the antagonism has been grossly exaggerated. Every Municipal improvement and charitable work finds members of the two faiths working together and subscribing funds to carry it out. Every political paper in the country finds supporters from believers in both creeds. Just the same is witnessed in the proceedings of the Congress. The members of the Congress met together as men, on the common basis of nationality, being citizens of one country, subjects of one power, amenable to one code of laws, taxed by one authority, influenced for weal or woe by one system of administration, urged by like impulses to secure like rights and to be relieved of like burdens. If these are not sufficient causes to weld a people together into one common alliance of nationality, it is difficult to conceive what would be sufficient. It is for this reason, the organization has been called the Indian National Congress; not because, as many, besides Mr. Keane, have assumed that it claims a non-existent unity of race, but because it deals with rights and interests which are national in character, and matters in which all the inhabitants of the Indian peninsula are equally concerned."

I think, we may take it, gentlemen, that we have passed through the first two stages, and that the loyalty, the moderation, the propriety, and the constitutional and national character of our mission are now established beyond a doubt. But, however, arduous and however provoking some of the experiences of the trial through which we have passed, they should not leave any trace of bitterness behind. For let us not imagine that they were not without their chastening and beneficial effects upon ourselves. Let us frankly acknowledge that they also must have had their share in contributing to add clearness to our thought, sobriety to our methods, and moderation to our proposals. If I might use a proscribed but not unscriptural phrase, we must even give the devil his due.

It is on the third stage,—the era of achievement, that we have now entered. It is true that a majority of the Congress proposals do not still seem to have made much headway. Even as regards the proposal to separate the Executive and the Judicial functions, lauded by Lord Dufferin "as a counsel of perfection to which the Government were ready to subscribe" Government are yet so absorbed in admiration of it, that they have not recovered themselves sufficiently to take action. There is, however, no reason to despair. It was once proved upon sworn testimony in the Bombay High Court before the late Chief Justice, Sir M. Westropp, that a woman required 21 months for parturition in the air of the province of Kattywar. You are aware gentlemen, that the air of Simla necessitates a more than ordinarily longer period to perfect even counsels of perfection; and therefore we must possess our souls in more than ordinary patience, lest any precipitate pressure might occasion a miscarriage. In one little matter, complete success has attended our efforts *viz.*, as regards the duty on silver-plate. The Abkari cause is also safe in the custody of that redoubtable champion, of whose formidable prowess you can form some idea, when you remember that it was he who so completely put to route Mr. Goschen's Compensation clauses. It is a matter of no small congratulation to us to welcome Mr. Caine as one of our own delegates. He first came out to this country with a free and open mind on the Congress question, with that fearless independence which characterises him, and which always when I see him recalls to my mind those famous lines of Burns—"The man of independent mind, is king of men for a that,"—he went for his education to Allyghur. Thanks to Mr. Thomas Beck and Sir Syed Ahmed, he has come to us, not only a staunch Congressman in principles, but, as one of the Indian Political Agency, he has thrown his indomitable energy and his high-souled advocacy into active support of the movement. Mr. Caine can truly boast that, if he has not succeeded in extorting from Mr. Pickard and all the most zealous Abkari officers, the confession that they are Bacchus and his crew in disguise, they dare not at least, throw off their masks, while his watchful eye is upon them; but they must continue to do penance in the assumed garb of uncomfortable and uncongenial principles. Leaving Christian to continue his combat with Appollyon it is when we come to the central proposal of the Congress regarding the Legislative Councils for the purpose of expanding and putting life in them, that we can congratulate ourselves on being on the verge of an important victory. Many have been the circumstances, many the forces and influences, that have contributed to this result. First and foremost among them is the circumstance, that without legal votes and legal qualifications, we have had the good fortune to return a member to Parliament. Do not imagine, gentlemen, that Dadabhai Naoroji or Lalmohun Ghose have at length been returned. But what member, even if we had the direct franchise, could have served us as Mr. Bradlaugh has done during the last twelve months? To say that the whole country is grateful to him for the untiring energy, the indefatigable care, the remarkable ability with which he has watched and worked for its best interests in that House, where he has achieved so honorable a position for himself, can only most imperfectly express the depth and extent of the sentiments that are felt for him throughout the length and breadth of the land. His name has literally become a household word. He is raising up to himself a memorial in the hearts of the people of India, which will reflect more lustre on his name than titles and orders, and endure longer than monuments of brass or marble. We have been fortunate indeed in securing the sympathies of such a champion. No sooner did he return to England than he at once proceeded to redeem the promise he had made in that behalf, by introducing in the House of Commons his India Councils Reform Bill, drawn on the lines which were sketched and formulated at the last Congress, and with which you are all familiar, under its justly deserved brief designation of the Madras scheme. Two important results were the immediate outcome of this step. The scheme which was thus propounded was in its nature a tentative measure, so far as its details were concerned: and it at once drew forth useful and guiding criticism. In several respects, its scope was misunderstood, especially as regards its supposed sweeping character, which might have been avoided, had we specified in the Congress skeleton sketch the restrictive limitations hedging the qualifications of the electorate. The criticisms of men like Sir William Hunter and Sir Richard Garth, for whose thoughtful, sympathetic and friendly attitude towards Indian progress we are always so deeply grateful, exposed, however, one defect demanding serious consideration, *viz*, that the scheme was laid on new lines, and had a somewhat theoretical air, which Englishmen rather fight shy of in practical politics. In justice to the scheme however, it should be said that Sir Richard Garth put his finger on a possible, rather than a probable, result when he thought that it would enable the Hindus to submerge the other Indian communities. Experience has shown that even in a preponderating Hindu electorate, it does not happen that Hindus only are elected, as so many other, besides racial, forces and interests concur in influencing the selection. If we may apply the lessons learnt from experience in Municipal elections, I may mention the remarkable fact that in the Town Council or, what is now called the Standing Committee of the Bombay Corporation, composed of 12 members, there have been frequently five Parsis, three Europeans, two Hindus and two Mahomedans. Sir R. Garth's criticism on this point, however, throws out a warning which should not be hastily disregarded. But the next result, which the introduction of Mr. Bradlaugh's Bill achieved, was gratifying in the highest degree. It at once dispelled the fit of profound cogitation, in which men at the head of Indian affairs are so apt to be lost, that they can never spontaneously recover from it. Lord Cross's India Councils Bill promptly saw the light of day in the House of Lords. It was at once the official recognition of the *raison d' tre* of the Congress, and the first fruits of its labours. In itself, however, was a most halting and unsatisfactory measure. In framing it, the Prime Minister and the Indian Secretary of State, seem to have been pervaded with a conception of the Indian people as a sort of Oliver Twist, always asking for more, to whom it would be therefore a piece of prudent policy to begin with offering as little as possible. The Government Bill may be aptly described as a most superb steam engine, in which the necessary material to generate steam was carefully excluded, substituting in its place coloured shams to look like it. The rights

or interpellation and of the discussion of the Budget were granted but the living forces of the elective principle, which alone could properly work them, were not breathed into the organization of the enlarged Councils. The omission of the elective principle from the Bill was boldly justified by Lord Salisbury on the ground that "the principle of election or government by representation was not an Eastern idea, and that it did not fit Eastern traditions or Eastern minds." I wish to speak of His Lordship with all the respect to which his high talents and great intellectual attainments justly entitle him; but it is not a little surprising as well as disappointing to find that a statesman who, as Lord Cranborne was once Secretary of State for India, should display such profound ignorance of the history of the Indian people and the genius of the Indian mind. The late Mr. Chisolm Anstey, a man of immense erudition, once pointed out at a meeting of the East India Association in London, that "we are apt to forget in this country when we talk of preparing people in the East by education and all that sort of things for Municipal Government and Parliamentary Government, that the East is the parent of Municipalities. Local Self Government in the widest acceptation of the term, is as old as the East itself. No matter what may be the religion of the people who inhabit what we call the East, there is not a portion of the country from west to east, from north to south which is not swarming with Municipalities; and not only so, but like to our municipalities of old they are all bound together as in a species of network so that you have ready made to your hand the framework of a great system of representation." Sir Henry Maine has shown that the Teutonic Mark was hardly so well organized or representative as an Indian village community, till the precise technical Roman form was engrafted upon it. But, leaving village communities alone, what do we find at the present day over the whole country but all sorts and conditions of people, from the highest to the lowest, meeting together and transacting the business of their numberless castes in assemblies which, in their constitution and their mode of working, are the exact prototypes of the Saxon Witans, from which the English Parliamentary institutions have sprung. It is true that circumstances never allowed the representative genius of the people to develop forms and organizations for higher political functions. But it is no less true, that the seed and the soil are there, waiting only for the skilful hand and the watchful mind, which we, of the Congress firmly believe, we have secured in the presence of Englishmen in this country. The disdainful attitude of Lord Salisbury as to our aptitude for representative institutions need, however, bring no despair to our minds. The late Chief Lord Beaconsfield, once said of him on a memorable occasion, that he was a man who never measured his phrases or his sweeping assertions. On the contrary, I draw an augury of good hope from his pronouncement and that made by his son Lord Hugh Cecil that the Indian was not only a good Government but it was probably the best conceivable Government that the population could possibly live under. On the eve of the passing of the great English Reform Bill, the Duke of Wellington, then the Tory Prime Minister, proclaimed in the same House of Lords that the existing constitution of the House of Commons was perfect and that the wit of man could no *a priori* have devised anything so perfect. The declaration was received by the Liberals as a sure portent of victory; and the Reform Bill was passed within little more than a year after. I trust that the Salisbury pronouncement may prove prophetic in the same way.

It is needless to discuss Lord Cross's perfunctory measure any further, even with the amendment which Lord Northbrook succeeded in getting accepted. It left the House of Lords in the same lifeless condition in which it entered there. As soon as it reached the House of Commons, Mr. Bradlaugh fastened on it at once. It was true that he had got there his own bill, but Mr. Bradlaugh is a master of parliamentary tactics inferior only to Mr. Gladstone. He at once perceived that the supreme struggle was to be no more between one scheme and another between territorial electorates or Local Boards, but that every nerve would have to be strained and every resource husbanded, to obtain in the first place recognition of the elective principle. That secured everything else would follow in its own good time. With a masterly comprehension of the situation, he placed before the House amendments to the Bill directed to substitute the process of election for that of nomination. The Bill and the amendments have however all gone the way of the majority and the session closed without the opportunity of discussing them. Profiting, however, by the lessons in which the experience of the last twelve months was prolific, both without and within the walls of Parliament, Mr. Bradlaugh has hit upon the notable expedient of ploughing with Lord Cross's heifer. He has already introduced a new Bill, based on the same lines as Lord Cross's Bill, but vivifying it by the affirmation of the principle for which we are fighting. That Bill will be laid before you for your consideration It will be for you to deal with it in your wisdom. However you may decide, of one thing I am certain, that you will maintain the character for moderation, sagacity, and practical good sense which you have so arduously acquired by yourself—sacrificing and noble labours during the five years of the existence of the Congress. It is not for me to anticipate your verdict, But I am sure you will allow me, out for my anxious solicitude for the triumph of the cause we have all so earnestly at heart, to state the reasons which to my mind make so imperatively for the acceptance of the new draft, in which I cannot but recognise the statesman-like craft and thorough knowledge of the shifting phases of English politics which Mr. Bradlaugh so eminently possesses, and which, as we all earnestly pray, promises to place him at no distant date in the front ranks of politicians in office, as he is already in the front ranks of those not in office. The old draft, admirably devised in some respects, with many virtues, and a few faults, has not proved congenial to the English political mind, averse to new departures, and looking askance at theoretical airs of perfection. The new Bill has, on the other hand, all the elements of success in its favour. Its most striking merit is, that it gathers round it the cautions, the carefully weighed and responsible opinions of some of the best Viceroys we have ever had. Lord Northbrook has pronounced in favour of a properly safe-guarded application of some mode of election. The righteous sympathies of the Marquis of Ripon are as warmly with us as ever, and his great authority weighs on the same side. Still more valuable, as coming from a Viceroy who left only the other day, is the measured and calculated approval which Lord Dufferin has recorded in a despatch, in referring to which I hope I am not making myself liable to the terrors of the Official Secret's Act. In mentioning Lord Dufferin, I will frankly say that we have not sufficiently recognized the great debt of gratitude which we owe to him in this respect, partly, I believe, through ignorance, and partly through misappreciation of the course he adopted to neutralize opposition against the measures he recommended. An unrivalled diplomatist, his wary statesmanship was apt to assume the hues of the craft of which he is so accomplished a master. He sought an occasion when he could launch his proposals without provoking disagreement, endeavouring rather to conciliate it. The epoch-making St. Andrew's Dinner of 1888 offered him the needful opportunity. He knew Scotchmen, and their matter-of-fact character, so inimitably delineated by Charles Lamb. He knew, as that charming essayist tells us, that "surmises, guesses, misgivings, half intuitions, partial illuminations, dim instincts, embryo-conceptions had no place in their brain or vocabulary." He drew before his hosts a vivid and alarming picture of imaginary Congress proposals—"of an ideal authoritatively suggested, of the creation of a representative body or bodies, in which the official element shall be in a minority, who shall have what is called the power of the purse, and who, through this instrumentality shall be able to bring the British executive into subjection to their will." But while his excited and valiant hosts rushed off, crying Scotchmen to the rescue, to tilt at windmills, he quietly threw in a sympathetic recognition of our just and legitimate aspirations, and proceeded to record a minute in which he substantially backed up the veritable Congress proposals. In this Despatch, Lord Dufferin has briefly described his scheme as a plan for the enlargement of the Provincial Councils, for the enhancement of their status, the multiplication of their functions, the partial introduction into them of the elective principle, and the liberalization of their general character as political institutions. At this year's St. Andrew's Dinner, Sir Charles Elliott, eulogized Lord Dufferin's speech as epoch-making and fixing the bounds and limits of our demands— 'so far and no further.' We are quite content to go as far: we have never asked to go very much further. We may, therefore, fairly infer from Sir Charles Elliott's speech, that he is in accord and sympathy with the main underlying principles of Lord Dufferin's scheme, and we can, therefore, congratulate the people of Bengal on their good fortune in possessing a ruler, whom we can justly claim to be a true Congresswalla at heart. I will not speculate without official sanction on the views of the present Viceroy. But I permit myself to remind you, that it was to Henry Marquis of Lansdowne that Macaulay dedicated those speeches, in one of which, dipping far into the future he spoke about the future Government of India in that noble passage with which we are all familiar:—"The destinies of our Indian Empire are covered with thick darkness. It is difficult to form any conjecture as to the fate reserved for a state which resembles no other in history, and which forms by itself a separate class of political phenomena. The laws which regulate its growth and decay are still unknown to us. It may be that the public mind of India may expand under our system till it has outgrown that system; that by good Government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government; that having become instructed in European knowledge, they may, in some future age, demand European institutions. Whether such a day will ever come I know not. But never will I attempt to avert or retard it. Whenever it comes, it will be the proudest day in English history. To have found a great people sunk in the lowest depths of slavery and superstition, to have so ruled them as to have made them desirous and capable of all the privileges of citizens, would indeed be a title to glory all our own." The dawn of that day which Macaulay foresaw, in dim, but prophetic, vision, is now breaking on the horizon; the curtain is rising on the drama which unfolds the vista to that title to glory. Let us earnestly hope that the present illustrious bearer of the great historic name of Lansdowne who, by wonderful ordering of events, has now come to rule over us, may watch the glowing streaks of light with generous sympathy, and may preside over the march of events with timely and provident statesmanship.

This weighty consensus of the best Viceregal opinion which I have placed before you, in favour of the principle of the new draft, we may expect to be backed up by the potent voice of that Grand Old Man, whom we reverence, not only as the greatest Parliamentary leader of modern time, but as the individual embodiment of the highest conception of the moral and political duty which English Statesmanship has reached in the 19th century. You are aware that Mr. Bradlaugh has recently declared that he was authorized to say, that the course pursued by him in reference to the Government Bill, in endeavouring to obtain a recognition of the elective principle, was approved by Mr. Gladstone, who intended to have supported him by speech. It would require considerations of overpowering force indeed, to pursuade us to any course by which we might run the risk of losing such an almost certain pledge of ultimate victory.

Another potent factor has come into existence within this year, which is calculated to help us beyond measure if we confined our efforts to the simple issue of election *versus* nomination—in the force of English public opinion which, without undertaking to pronounce on questions of detail, has now declared itself to a very considerable extent emphatically in favour of the vital principle. The credit of informing the English mind and stirring the English conscience on this momentous question, belongs to that small band of noble workers, who were appointed at the last Congress to plead the cause of India before the great English people in their own country, and who cheerfully crossed the seas in obedience, to such a call of duty, without counting the inevitable cost and sacrifice. The task which they undertook was a formidable one; they have discharged it in a manner of which it is difficult to speak too highly, of the leader of that band, I can not trust myself to speak with sober moderation, when I remember that it is to his genius we owe that flash of light, which pointed out the creation of a body like the Congress, as fraught with the promotion of the best interests of English rule in India. I know there are numerous claimants for the credit of the idea, but if I may be pardoned for employing the rudely forcible language of Carlyle, "the firepan, the kindlind, the bitumen were his own; but the lumber of rags, old wood, and nameless combustible rubbish (for all is fuel to him) was gathered from hucksters and of every description under Heaven. Whereby indeed hucksters enough have been heard to exclaim out upon it, the fire is *mine*." He brought to bear upon his new enterprise the same zeal and fervour, combined with thoughtful judgment, that he has unsparingly bestowed for so many years upon the cause to which he has devoted his life. His presence in the Congress deputation entailed a further sacrifice and affliction for which we can offer no consolation or reparation except our deepest and most respectful sympathy. In his great and noble mission, Mr. Hume had the entire co-operation of a man of no ordinary powers and capacity. The rare and unrivalled powers of oratory which we have learned to admire in Mr. Surendra Nath Bannerji,—for it is of him I speak—never shone with more brilliant effect than when he was pleading the cause of his countrymen at the bar of the English people, with a fire and energy that extorted universal respect and admiration. They had a powerful coadjutor in my friend Mr. Eardley Norton, who has known so well how to make *splendid* use of the heritage of great thoughts and noble deeds which he received from his distinguished father. Mr. Madholkar and Mr. Joshi from the Central Provinces did yeoman's service in

the same cause, and their sober and thoughtful eloquence did not carry less weight than that of their brilliant colleagues. There is no need for me to say anything of the services of Sir William Wedderburn, Mr Dadabhai Naoroji, and our other friends in England. But I cannot allow this opportunity to pass without grateful acknowledgment of the unceasing toil the prodigious energy, and the organizing capacity contributed by Mr. William Digby. The delegates assembled here might render no inconsiderable service to our cause, if they exerted themselves to stimulate by thousands and tens of thousands the circulation of the Congress paper entitled *India*, started and conducted with such marked ability by him, which has done and promises to do more and more, such incalculable benefit to the object we have at heart The result of the English campaign clearly shows the wisdom of the new plan of operations suggested by Mr. Bradlaugh. It seems to me that success is well within our reach, if we resolutely apply ourselves to obtain, in the first instance at least, the recognition and application of the principle of election in the organization of our Legislative Councils. Let us then strive for it with the sagacity of practical men, who have not learnt in vain the lessons taught by English political history, and who know the value of moderate, gradual, and substantial gain.

To the many reasons which have been set forth in Congress after Congress, proving the imperative need of reformed Councils, another has been now added. The discussion of the Indian Budget in the House of Commons was always more or less of a sham; but it was a sham for which the officials of the India Office thought it at least a matter of decency to shed a tear of remorse. But now Sir John Gorst has boldly and candidly declared in his place in the House, that there need be no sham regret at all; that if anything it was rather to be hoped and wished for, that the House of Commons should not waste its time over the weary farce. It is now officially declared that it is right and proper that Parliament should—to use Mr. Yule's happy way of putting it—throw "the great and solemn trust of an inscrutable Providence" into the hands of Providence to be looked after as Providence itself thinks best, with such grace as Providence may choose to pour on the heads of Sir John Gorst, his heirs, successors, and assigns I think you will agree with me, that when the responsible advisers of the Crown on Indian matters propound doctrines of such a character, it is high time that we should raise our united voice to demand Local Councils possessing some guarantees for energy and efficiency.

It has been said that our united voice is the voice only of a certain portion of the people, and not of the masses; and that it is even then the voice of indifference, and not of agency and excitement. These remarks are intended to be cast as matters of reproach against the Congress; properly understood, they constitute its chief glory. If the masses were capable of giving articulate expression to definite political demands, then the time would arrive, not for consulative Councils, but for representative institutions. It is because they are still unable to do so, that the function and the duty devolve upon their educated and enlightened compatriots to feel, to understand and to interpret their wants and requirements, and to suggest and indicate what would best redress and remedy them. History teaches us that such has been the law of widening progress in all ages and all countries, notably in England itself. That function and that duty, which thus devolve upon us, is best discharged not in times of alarm and uneasiness, of anger, and excitement, but when the heart is loyal and clear, and reason unclouded. It is, I repeat, the glory of the Congress that the educated and enlightened people of the country seek to repay the debt of gratitude, which they own for the priceless boon of education, by pleading for timely and provident statesmanship.

I have no fears but that English statesmanship will ultimately respond to the call. I have unbounded faith in the living and fertilizing principles of English culture and English civilization. It may be that at times the prospect may look dark and gloomy. Anglo-Indian opposition may look fierce and uncompromising. But my faith is large, even in Anglo-Indians. As in the whole universe, so in individuls and in communities there is a perpetual conflict going on between the higher and lower passions and impulses of our nature. Perhaps, some of you have read a little novel, called Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, which hinges its plot on the conflict between the two sides of a man's nature, the higher and the lower, embodying each for the time being in a separate and distinct individuality. If the tendencies are sometimes paramount in the Hydes of Anglo-Indian society, it, as our last President Sir W. Wedderburn said, that the interests of the services are antagonistic to and prevail over the interests of the Indian people, it is still the oscillation of the struggle: it is still only one side of the shield. They cannot tear away the higher and nobler nature, which, in the end, must prevail, and which has prevailed in so many honorable and distinguished instances. They are after all a part and parcel of the great English nation, bone of their bone, and flesh of their flesh, and they must even work out the main lines of the policy which that nation has deliberately adopted for the government of this country. When in the inscrutable dispensation of Providence, India was assigned to the care of England, one can almost imagine that the choice was offered to her as to Israel of old:—"Behold, I have placed before you a blessing and a curse; a blessing, if ye will obey the commandments of the Lord your God: curse, if ye will not obey the commandments of the Lord your God, but go after other gods whom ye have not known." All the great forces of English life and society, moral, social, intellectual, political, are, if slowly, steadily and irresistibly, declaring themselves for the choice which will make the connection of England and India a blessing to themselves, and to the whole world, for countless generations. Our Congress asks but to serve as a modest handmaid to that movement, ask but to be allowed to show the pits and the falls, asks but to be allowed to join in the blessing which England will as surely earn as there is an 'Eternal that maketh for righteousness.'

I appeal to all true Englishmen, to candid friends as to generous foes,—not to let this prayer go in vain. It may be that we sometimes speak uncouth and out-landish ways, it may be that we sometimes stray in some confusion of thought and language; still it is the prayer of a rising, growing and hopeful nation that we will appeal to them to listen to the sage counsels of one of the most careful and observant of their modern politicians, who, like the prophet Balaam, called, I will not say, exactly to curse us, has however blessed us utterly. In his "Problems of Greater Britain," Sir Charles Dilke thus sums up his views on the Congress:—"Argument upon the matter is to be desired, but not invective, and there is so much reason to think that the Congress movement really represents the cultivated intelligence of the country, that those who ridicule it do harm to the imperial interests of Great Britain, bitterly wounding and alienating men who are justified in what they do, who do it in reasonable and cautious form, and who ought to be conciliated by being met half-way. The official class themselves admit that many of the Natives who attack the Congress do so to ingratiate themselves with their British rulers and to push their claims for decorations. Our first duty in India is that of defending the country against anarchy and invasion, with which I have dealt in the last chapter; but our other greatest duty is to learn how to live with what is commonly called the Congress movement, namely, with the development of that new India which we have ourselves created. Our past work in India has been a splendid task, splendidly performed, but there is a still nobler one before us, and one larger even than that labour on the Irish problem to which our public men on both sides seem too much inclined to give their whole attention."

So careful an estimate of the work and spirit of the Congress movement cannot but commend itself to all thoughtful minds. However that may be, our duty lies clear before us, to go on with our work firmly and fearlessly, but with moderation and above all, with humility. If we might be permitted to adopt those noble words of Cardinal Newman, we may say:—

> "Lead, kindly light, amid the encircling gloom, Lead thou me on,
> The night is dark, and I am far from home, Lead thou me on.
> Keep thou my feet: I do not ask to see.
> The distant way one step's enough for me.

Mr. A. O. HUME, the General Secretary, then read the lists of members nominated for the Subject Committee.

Some complaint was made that the number of the Bengal list had been reduced from 40 to 29, but it was explained that the latter number was that to which Bengal was alone entitled. An amendment was then moved, amid some little confusion, to the effect that the Bengal delegates be requested to submit a fresh list with the understanding that such list should not contain more than 29 names. The President pointed out that the amendment would create unnecessary delay, and suggested that a few more names might be added to the Bengal list. This suggestion was adopted, and four additional names were accordingly proposed and agreed to.

The Congress was then adjourned to Saturday at 1 o'clock.

SECOND DAY.

The Congress re-assembled on Saturday as arranged. At the opening of the proceedings there were a number of vacant seats among those assigned to the delegates, but they were soon filled up, and there was, as on Friday, a large attendance of visitors, among whom were Mr. Schwann M. P., Mr. Caine, and Mr. Yule. A few lady delegates occupied seats on the platform. The chair was taken at one o'clock by Mr. Pherozeshah Mehta, the President of the Congress.

After the addition to the Subject Committee of two gentlemen from Assam, whose names had been inadvertently omitted on Friday, Mr. Lalmohun Ghose moved the first resolution, *viz*:—"That this Congress, having considered the Draft Bill, recently introduced into Parliament by Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, entitled "an Act to amend the Indian Councils Acts of 1861," approves the same as calculated to secure a substantial instalment of that reform in the Administration of India, for which they have been agitating, and humbly prays the House of Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland to pass the same into law. And further that the President is hereby empowered to draw up and sign, on behalf of this assembly, a petition to the House of Commons to the foregoing effect, and to transmit the same to Mr. Charles Bradlaugh for presentation thereof in due course."

He then said:—It seems to me, Sir, that this new and modified Bill affirms all the great questions of principle upon which we are all agreed and I venture to think that it stands a much better chance of receiving a favorable consideration at the hands of Parliament than the scheme embodied in Mr. Bradlaugh's original Bill. There are, I believe, certain points on which there prevails an almost absolute unanimity of opinion amongst the thinking educated classes of our countrymen. We are all united in demanding that there should be some substantial expansion of our Supreme and Local Legislative Councils, and this Bill provides for that expansion by proposing to raise the number of members of the Governor-General's Council to something between 40 and 60 and that of the Councils of the various Lieutenant-Governors and Governors of Provinces to something between 36 and 48. Now there is no particular magic in any given number, but it seems to me that this proposal is so reasonable and modest that no honest or candid critic can accuse us of desiring suddenly to revolutionize the Government of this country (cheers). On the other hand, if there be any amongst us who think that the Bill does not go as far as it might have done in this direction. I would beg of them to remember that it is impossible for us to err on the side of moderation. (hear, hear) and that the more cautiously these changes and reforms are introduced the greater is the chance of their ultimate success (cheers). The other point upon which we are also agreed is this, that there should be some fair share of popular representation in these councils, and further that this popular representation should be based upon some application of the principle of election. Now I have always been of opinion that wholly irrespective of the capacities or qualifications of the persons whom the Government might nominate under the present system. even when the choice of the Government happens to fall, as I admit it does frequently fall, upon the very men whom we would ourselves be the first to

elect; take for example, the latest instance before us, the nomination by the Viceroy of our distinguished friend Sir Romesh Chunder Mitter(cheers) —even in such cases I havealways felt that it would greatly improve and strengthen the position of our members of Council if they held their seats by the suffrages of their fellow-countrymen rather than by the grace and favour of the Government. With your permission, Sir, I will read one short sentence from a memorial that was presented to Lord Hartington by a large deputation of English and Indian gentlemen, of whom I had the honor to be one ten years ago, just after the great Liberal Victory of 1880. "Although some of those members (alluding to the nominated members of Council) render useful services to the State it is obvious that so long as all the members are nominated by the Government however carefully the selection may be made, the members so appointed cannot feel or be credited with that independence which it is essential they should enjoy, nor can their opinion possess the weight and authority which belong to the voice of representatives elected by the people." That short sentence, I believe expresses the unanimous opinion of us all (cheers), and for my part I am unable to conceive the possibility even of any difference of opinion upon this great question of principle. But, gentlemen, the question of representation is such a large one, and it is moreover so complicated by existence among us of a variety of interests apparently conflicting with each other, which nevertheless have to be reconciled and safe-guarded, that we must all be prepared to admit that there is very considerable room for honest differences of opinion when you come to discuss any particular method or scheme whereby effect is to be given to those principles to which I have referred. We must bear in mind that in a matter like this we should be prepared to make large and generous concessions to each other; we should be prepared to give and take; we should be ready even to make large allowances for the unreasonable prejudices of our political opponents whom we should constantly endeavour to conciliate and win over. Speaking for myself and having regard to these considerations to which I have briefly adverted, I must frankly tell you that I venture to think that the present modified Bil is a great improvement upon its predecessor. As I said the other day at the Town Hall at one of our Meetings, I thought my duty to abstain from any public criticism of that old Bill so long as it held the field; but now I am free to admit to you that the scheme of erecting an electoral college never commended itself to my judgment. I may be right or I may be wrong, I desire to speak with the utmost respect for those who may have been the authors of that scheme and also for those who may still cherish some preference for it; but in my humble judgment it seemed to me to be neither a practicable nor a workable measure. I found no precedent for it in the country whose political institutions seem to me to furnish the worthiest models for imitation, the country with which our own political destinies are inseparably intertwined. But gentlemen, what is of much greater importance is this, that scheme was adversely criticised not only by leading influential and friendly newspapers in this country, such as the *Statesman* and the *Indian Daily News*, but we have the authority of Mr. Bradlaugh himself who in his letter to the British Committee of the Congress tells us that in England the Bill as read a first time has, with slight exceptions, been disapproved by the press of all shades of opinion and has not been very warmly supported by any considerable number of members of the House. Under these circumstances I myself believe and sincerely hope and trust that you will all be of opinion, in spite of any private predilections of your own (because we must be prepared to accept what there is anything like a prospect of getting) that Mr. Bradlaugh has exercised a very wise discretion in recasting the Bill in its present shape so as to make it more acceptable to the press, to the hope and to Parliament of England (cheers). Gentlemen, if this Bill passes into law, as I hope it may be the duty will be last upon the Government of India to frame a scheme for election subject to the final control and approval of Parliament. And it seems to me that there is at least one great advantage in thus casting this duty upon the Government itself. We have in our midst, as you are aware, a variety of communities who, being in a minority in point of numbers are, or profess themselves to be, greatly alarmed at any proposal to introduce the elective principle in the institutions of this country. Well, gentlemen, these, communities, or, more properly speaking the leaders of those communities who have been sounding the note of alarm can hardly profess to apprehend anything like these dangers from a scheme to be drawn up by the Government of India itself who surely may be trusted to safe-guard to the fullest extent all the legitimate rights and interests of all the minorities in this country (cheers). On the other hand, the Hindoo community all over India, who form the great majority in the population of this country ought to be prepared to make very large and generous concessions; they ought to be prepared to have the largest amount of toleration for those of their brethren, for those of their Mahomedan or Parsee or European fellow subjects who may fancy that their own special interests are in any way likely to be threatened or invaded. Let us have a spirit of entire toleration. Let there be no attempt whatever at dictation, and, above all, let there be no abuse or condemnation whether of individuals or of classes simply because as yet they are unable to agree with us upon every point of our political programme (cheers). I think if you approach this great question in that generous spirit there is nothing that can prevent the ultimate triumph of the great cause we have at heast. All the signs of the times seem to be entirely favorable. I find gathered together under this great pavilion representatives of all nations, of all communities inhabiting this great country—a sight which only a few years ago no body would have dreamed of as being possible. We have across the seas in England a British people willing and anxious to extend to us the right hand of fellowship. Of late they have given us the sincerest and strongest and most convincing proofs of their sympathy. British constituencies have emphatically endorsed the great doctrine of Queen's proclamation, the doctrine of the equal rights of all Her Majesty's subjects; they have endorsed them by going so far as even to invite some of your own fellow-countrymen to stand as their Parliamentary representatives. Who among us would have thought twenty or ten years ago that such a thing was within the bounds of possibility? I ask you, gentlemen, if these things are not sufficient to cheer us, to encourage us to go on labouring firmly, generously and steadfastly through good report and through evil report until we have at last succeeded in convincing the people and Parliament of England that the reforms we ask for are just, moderate and legitimate and calculated greatly to improve the administration of this country and to broaden and strengthen the foundations of the British Empire in India (cheers). Gentlemen, our motto is Reform, and not Revolution (hear, hear) and my own experience of the just and generous instincts of the English people convinces me that a measure which like this Bill of Bradlaugh's, proposes to concede to us some share in the management of our own affairs, some voice in the administration of our own country, some representation in our councils, cannot fail to commend itself to the approval of the English nation. (Cheers)

MR. ANUNDA CHARLOO, in seconding the motion, said that the resolution adopted by the first Congress only advocated the admission of a considerable number of elected members to the various councils; but afterwards it was said that that proposal was too vague, and that it needed to be systematized. and later Congresses endeavoured to prescribe in what matter the electorate should be constituted, That, he thought, was a mistake, and he was glad that it was now proposed to correct it. Mr. Bradlaugh's first Bill was drawn up in accordance with the resolution of the Calcutta, Madras and Allahabad Congresses. Then came Lord Cross's Bill and the discussion which followed it; and finally Mr. Bradlaugh's amended scheme, which he thought was not liable to the destructive criticism which was bestowed upon its predecessor.

MR. C. V. NAYUDU, in supporting the motion said that the great meeting then being held was an indication of the tendency of the public mind to appreciate the great national movement of the Congress. He then described the success with which, when he was a student in England, he had brought forward and carried at various societies resolutions of a similar character to that now proposed, and expressed a hope that Mr. Bradlaugh's new Bill would be received with equal enthusiasm and unanimity in the Imperial Parliament.

MR. W. A. KHARE also supported the resolution.

PANDIT MADAN MOHUN MALAVIYA said:—Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, It gives me the greatest pleasure to be allowed to speak in support of this resolution not only because it is the most important resolution that has been for many years before the Congress but also because I have always taken the keenest interests in the discussion of this question. The position created by Lord Cross's Bill has necessitated the introduction of the new Bill by Mr. Bradlaugh, and all that you are now required to do is to affirm your approval and record your support of that Bill. There is no doubt a good deal of difference between this Bill and the previous one; but, as has been well pointed out by other speakers, the difference is not in principle, but lies in matters of detail; and so long as the principle is assured we will be satisfied with any, though a very modest, instalment of reform (Cheers). But let us hope that while we are ready to make these concessions, and to be satisfied with such a modest amount of reform, those in whose hands it lies to approve or disapprove of our proposals will lend a more willing and kindly ear to our proposals of this year (Cheers). It is not because we think that our demands in previous year were exorbitant or unjust that we bring forward this proposal. We have always been anxious to be as moderate in our demands as the circumstances of the country and the situation we were in would admit; and in taking this step at this moment the guiding consideration that has prompted us is a desire to conciliate, as far as may be in our power without sacrificing the principle, our opponents who think that the reform we seek may lead to unpleasant results. I hope that when this Bill is brought before Parliament, Parliament will give it its best support. If it is otherwise we shall all, here and in other countries, be surprised at the result. What do we ask for? Six hundred years ago this proposition was put forward by an English poet, when Simon de Montfort was placed at the head of affairs:—"Let the community of the realm advise and let it be known what the generality, to whom their own laws are best known, think of the matter. They who are ruled by the laws know these laws best, they who make daily trial of them, and since it is their own affairs which are at stake, they will take more care, and will act with an eye to their own peace." "It concerns the community to see what sort of men ought justly to be chosen for the weal of the realm." Ever since that time this has been the guiding principle of English political existence. They have extolled it in theory and maintained it in practice at the sacrifice of a very large amount of treasure and life. Englishmen have carried it with them wherever they have gone, and the nations of Europe have learned it at their feet. (Cheers.) It was only trite for Mr. Gladstone to say the other day: "It often happens in the counsels of Providence that each nation or some particular nation is appointed to work out great social, political or economical problems for the world at large. It has been given to this country almost exclusively to work out for the benefit of the world at large enormous advantages. In the adoption of the system of representation we long stood alone, but one after another the great countries of the world have come in, and the nations sprung from our loins have given further countenance and currency to our example, and now the man would be deemed mad who should denounce the system of popular representation." (Cheers). But I will not deal with generalities. Every one, if, as Mr. Gladstone says, he is not mad, or (permit me to add) if he has been degenerated by contact with the worst vices of oriental thought, will admit the soundness of the principle: and it is that principle which is involved in Mr. Bradlaugh's Bill, it is that towards the attainment of which all our endeavours are directed. I will only allude to two or three

objections which have been made to the proposal. The principal point of difference between us and the Government is with regard to election and nomination. We spoke a good deal about it last year; still the disease remains, and the remedy must be applied. We find even the *Times*, of London, perhaps the most Conservative paper in existence, saying :—"There is no doubt force in the argument that nomination is not calculated to give the Government the advantage of contact with some highly important factors in Indian Society. No Government is like to select as its advisers persons conspicuous for their political opposition, and thus the Viceroy's choice is almost certain to be hampered on the side where perhaps information at first hand is most needed." But that is not all. If the Government in England can seldom be expected to choose political opponents the Government in India are in a much worse position. Our Government officials, our district officials—for it is through them that the Government choose members—are less in contact with the people than the officials in England. And, gentlemen, where a large majority of respectable people give up visiting officials because they have to leave their shoes outside the bungalow, how do you expect Government officials, the chief personages through whom recommendations for Councellorship are made, will make a good choice—will make a selection of the men best fitted for the work? But even that is not all. As has been well pointed out, if the Government wish to nominate more members without giving us the right to elect, let them not extend that cruel mercy to us. It will be the unkindest service Government could render to us. I will tell you why. We have been complaining that our homes and hearths are not well protected, and that with the chowkidars our houses and properties are not safe. What does the Government do? Increase the number of chowkidars without giving us the least control over them. They have given very fine weapons, the weapons of interpellation and the right to discuss the budget; but with what result? Where you wanted these weapons to be placed in the hands of persons whom you could trust, they are placed in the hands of persons on whom you have no reliance, and who for all that we know might turn the weapons upon us to do us injury (Cheers). It is all very well for the Government to nominate half a dozen more members into the Council so that whenever any measure is brought forward, whenever any fresh tax is to be imposed, and the organs of public opinion say that the country is poor and not able to bear further expense, these nominees of the Viceroy may be trotted forth to say that the country is very happy and prosperous. It will be like the chowkidars saying, when we complain of our property being looted. "You prefer this complaint so that you may escape taxation. You have not lost your property, it has not been stolen, you have simply removed it to some other place." Our additional nominated members will be very much like those additional Chowkidars over whom we shall have no control whatever (Hear, hear).

Do you think under these circumstances there was no justification for the remark of one whom we all highly respect, Mr. Hume, the greatest friend of India I have ever seen (loud cheers) who said that when we ask for bread the Government casts stores at us? I am afraid I have taken up too much of your time (cries of "go on") I thank you for this concession, which I hope will be confirmed by the President. I will only briefly deal with another important point, namely what some of the Viceroys or Secretaries of State, and particularly the Marquis of Salisbury, have said to be the chief difficulty in the way of introducing any representative principle in the administration of this country—that no constituency could be found in India to which the privilege of electing members could be extended. It seems to be that nothing could be sadder than to see the Premier of England, occupying the position which he does, and the Secretary of State for India, putting forth such a wretched plea—I can only call it wretched. It was to be expected that having had such a long parliamentary career, and having lived so many years in England, he would know that constituencies are not created by the people but by the Sovereign and the Government. The elements which make up a constituency no doubt exist, but until the Government choose to confer some privilege on those elements no constituency can possibly be created. But then they have the hardihood, I had almost said the audacity, to deny that there exist elements in India sufficient to form constituencies in this country. There also they show their utter ignorance—ignorance which at any rate is not pardonable in political matters, so far as the history of their own country and Parliament is concerned. You will, I am sure, agree with me when I say that no electorate that could be formed could be worse than those which existed in the ante-Reform period in England—the period before the passing of the Reform Bill. You have all heard of the close and rotten boroughs. But although they were close and rotten they did excellent service to the English nation by returning some of the brightest personages ever produced in England. Lord North, Mr. Burke, Mr. Pitt, Mr Fox, Lord Granville, the Marquis of Wellesley, Mr. Canning, Lord Brougham, Lord Grey and a host of others like them were first elected by close and rotten boroughs. Mr. Sheridan was returned by a constituency of only 70 electors, and Mr. Wyndham by 145 electors. The great Lord Chatham was first returned by Old Sarum that you must all have heard of, and his son, the renowned Mr. Pitt, the great parliamentary leader and minister, was returned by a constituency numbering only 100 electors. These close and rotten boroughs therefore rendered some good service to the country. Do you think it possible that these men would have found their way to Parliament if the only entrance had been in the hands of the Government? How could Government have known their talents and abilities, and how could Government have been so saintly as to allow them to go on in their own independent career? I have already received a note of warning from the President that I should not go much further; but I hope he will permit me to say one word with regard to a remark made by Viscount Cross in his speech on the second reading of the official Indian Reform Bill. "As was well said by the late Sir Henry Maine, in speaking of India, there is no more resemblance between a Punjabi and a Bengali, between an Indian of Hindustan and an Indian of Malabar, than there is between an Englishman and a Roumanian, or between a Spaniard and a Sweden. The Marquis of Salisbury also said: "The difficulty of introducing the elective principle, largely dependent upon the pecularities of Eastern minds, is also to a great extent, as the noble lord pointed out, due to the fact that we have to deal with a deeply divided population. Representative Government answers admirably so long as all those who are represented desire much the same thing and have interests tolerably analogous; but it is put to an intolerable strain when it rests upon a community divided into two sections one of which is bitterly hostile to the other and desirous of opposing it upon all occasions." The chief argument was that there exist different creeds and colors. The President has ably answered this in his opening speech. I will only add that the absence of faith which they deplore is purely imaginary. There is a faith which is not religious in the ordinary sense of the word; there is a faith which exists in the minds of the people :—

A faith
Tought by no priest, but by their beating hearts,
Faith to each other : the fidelity
Of fellow-wanderers in a desert place
Who share the same dire thirst, and therefore share
The scanty water ; the fidelity
Of men whose pulses leap with kindred fire,
Who in the flash of eyes, the clasp of hands,
The speech that even in lying tells the truth,
Of heritage inevitable as past deeds,
Nay, in the silent bodily presence feel
he mystic stirring of a common life
Which makes the many one."

(Loud cheers.)

MR. BISHEN NARAYAN DHAR, speaking in support of the resolution, referred to the minority protection clause of the Bombay scheme, which he said he considered a mistake, and to the principle of which he strongly objected. He maintained that Hindu and Mahomedan interests as such had no existence in political matters, and that in the Legislative Councils all sectarian interests and class bias should be rigorously excluded. He thought it best, moreover, to throw upon the Government whatever odium might attach to the task of adjusting conflicting interests. All that was said about Mahomedan opposition was due to the deliberate policy adopted by the Indian Government which seemed to believe that race antagonisms and religious rivalries were the chief factors which contributed to the strength and permanence of the British rule in India (Cries of "Shame"!) The speaker then cited a passage from Sir John Strachey in support of his contention, and proceeded to contend that the policy recommended was a shameful one for those who had faith in the teachings of Christianity. It had, he said, borne fruit in the bloodshed and bitterness prevailing in the United Provinces during the past year. The disputes were of recent origin. The principle of universal toleration proclaimed by Akbar was now in danger of being reversed by the British Government; but he could not believe that the principle of "divide and rule" would be succeeded: he rather believed that as a purer moral consciousness dawned upon the minds of the rulers they would see that that power alone was secure which rested upon the affections, the convictions and the will of the nation.

Other addresses in support of the resolution followed, the speakers being Lala Hukum Chand; Mr. Krishna Swami Iyer, who went through the principal features of the new Bill, and contended that they all exhibited the extreme moderation of the Congress proposals; Mr. Sharfuddin, who opposed the minority protection clause of the late bill, and said, in proof that it was unnecessary, that in Patna at the late general election for the Municipality out of 20 members returned 13 were Mahomedans and that these were elected both by Mahomedans and Hindoos; and Mir Nusser Ali Shorat, of Delhi, who spoke with great energy in the vernacular.

An objection was then taken by Babu Bipradas Banerjee that the delegates had not had a sufficient opportunity of considering the resolution and the Bill, and he suggested that the discussion should be adjourned to Monday. There was a strong expression of feeling on the part of the meeting against this proposal; and it was pointed out by the President that the Bill had been before the country for some time, and that it was not likely, after eleven speakers had been heard, that anything new would be said on the subject. Loud cries of "vote" affirmed the view taken by the President; and on a show of hands being taken the resolution was agreed to without a single dissentient.

Babu Kalli Churn Banerji was next called upon to move the second Resolution In doing so he said :—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen :—As an old driver of your omnibus (laughter) in regard to which, by-the-bye, it may soon be necessary to legislate, as to how many it should be allowed to carry, I may be permitted to drive it once more. There will be no detention with a view to check the passengers; they are familiar faces and you would know them at a glance. The Resolution I have to propose is that this present Congress does hereby ratify and confirm the resolutions passed by previous Congresses as to—.

(*a*) the urgent necessity for the complete separation of executive and judicial functions, so that in no case, shall the two functions be combined in the same officer ;
(*b*) the expediency of extending into many parts of the country, where it is not at present in force, the system of trial by jury ;
(*c*) the necessity of withdrawing from the High Courts the powers first vested in them in 1872 of setting aside verdicts of acquittal by juries ;
(*d*) the necessity of introducing in the Code of Criminal Procedure, a provision enabling accused persons, in warrant cases, to demand that instead being tried by the Magistrate they be committed to the Court of Sessions ;
(*e*) the highly unsatisfactory character of the existing system of Police Administration in India, and the absolute necessity of a fundamental reform therein ;
(*f*) the expediency of both, establishing Military Colleges in India, whereat the natives of India, as defined by Statute, may be educated and trained for a military career as officers of the Indian Army, and of authorising, under such rules and restrictions as may seem necessary, such a system of volunteering for the Indian inhabitants of the country as may qualify them to support the Government in any crisis ;
(*g*) the extremely unsatisfactory character of the Income tax Administraction, especially as regards incomes below rupees one thousand, and the expediency of raising the taxable minimum to this amount ;
(*h*) the extreme importance of increasing, instead of diminishing, as the present tendency appears to be the public expenditure on education in all its branches, and the necessity in view to the promotion of one of the most

essential of these branches, the technical, of the appointment of a mixed commission to enquire into the present industrial condition of the country ;

(i) the necessity for the reduction of, instead of the continual increase to, the military expenditure of the country ;

(j) the necessity, if any real justice is to be done to the people of India of holding, simultaneously in India and England, examinations, at present held only in England, for all Civil branches of the Public Service in India;

(k) the expediency of so modifying the rules made under Act XI of 1878 (the Arms Act) that all restrictions as to the possession and bearing of arms shall apply equally to all persons residing in or visiting India ; that licenses to possess and bear arms shall be liberally and generally distributed wherever wild animals habitually destroy human life, cattle or crops, and that these and all licenses issued under the rules shall be granted once for all, shall operate throughout, the Provincial jurisdiction within which they are issued be only revocable on proof of misuse, and shall not require yearly or halfy-yearly renewals.

Let me remind you that these Resolutions were passed by previous Congresses, and you are now called upon simply to ratify and confirm them. In other words, you are called upon simply to be loyal to your traditions (Cheers,) for I take it that the Congress is old enough to have traditions of its own. In order to help your memories, let me briefly describe to you the eleven passengers that I carry in my omnibus. I will begin with the last Resolution (*k*). We are grateful to our Government for the security that we enjoy as to life and property from human invasions; what we seek is that we should have security also as far as wild animals are concerned (hear hear). And in that connection we desire it to be remembered that wild animals make no distinction between the European and the Indian (laughter). I have spoken of wild animals; what as to the wild men? We are grateful to our Government for the machinery that exists for the prevention and suppression of crimes, at the same time we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that the administration of justice in this country admits of improvement, and that it ought to be elevated to a footing in which it might be spoken of as self-justifying in its character. We desire therefore that the Police should be reformed, so that it may not be possible for them to place an innocent man in the dock. We desire further to secure that when magistrates hold a trial in any case, they should bring to the trial a mind which should be, as far as the facts of the case are concerned, a *tabula rasa*. I do not mean that they should bring to the trial of cases a mind that should be a *tabula rasa* as far as the law of the case is concerned (laughter). We desire further that in the administration of justice in this country, the people should be allowed the benefit of the judgment of their peers, that this privilege should not be confined only to a few favoured spots; but that it should be extended to all parts of the country to which it may be extended with advantage. We desire further that this privilege of having the judgment of one's peers in any case should not be allowed to become a farce and a nullity by being in danger of being set aside even by the highest courts in the country. I may describe these six resolutions as being on a certain level, that is, the level of protection. I now pass on to another class of resolutions that we have in this omnibus, and in order to help your memories, I will mention a word which begins with the same letter—P. I am going to place before you four P's. Following 'protection' I will give you the watch-word 'plenty.' We desire that the poor of the country should be enabled to live from hand to mouth; at any rate, that they may be in no danger of having what little they may possess for their sustenance diminished by the imposition of any species of taxation which is likely to press hard upon them, whether as regards the nature of the tax itself or as regards the administration of the tax. Then after plenty, let me give you the word 'peace,' and here I take it that I am not wrong in regarding the British nation as under an inspiration which ought to enable it to usher in a reign of peace which is prophesied as part of the faith which inspires that country—a reign which when it is once inaugurated shall lead men to beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into purning hooks. A nation that lives and moves under such an inspiration is surely destined to usher in this reign of peace rather than to go on in a direction which indicates the permanence of war. We desire then that the military expenditure of the country should be reduced rather than allowed continually to increase. But if the British nation happens to be lacking in faith so that they are not in a position to lay hold of the "sure word of prophecy," we make to them a certain offer, by way of an earthly support That is, we invite them to allow us to train ourselves in that same art of war so that when they do need earthly help we shall be prepared, all of us, to render it. I now come to the last which I describe as the *panacea;* because after all when we seek to introduce reforms into our country it is not possible for any of them to take root unless the people are educated to help in the cause of reform (cheers). So it is that we desire to secure that the expenditure in aid of education in all its branches should not be diminshed. And here I ought to draw your attention to what is prominently brought out in one of the Resolutions, that there should be no distinction ever suggested between high education and low education. An educated carpenter stands on the same footing exactly as an educated lawyer. There is no such thing as high and low in the matter of education. If education is to be a passport to the various services of the country, we desire that those passports should not be hampered by conditions which may render them simply inaccessible to certain persons who cannot fulfil those conditions. Gentlemen, the omnibus has now reached its destination and the occupation of the driver is gone. (Laughter and cheers.)

MR. VISHWANATH IYER, in seconding the resolution, said : President, ladies and gentlemen, in the first place the necessity for reform on the lines suggested in some of the clauses that make up this omnibus resolution has been admitted by the Government itself, for instance with respect to the separation of the judicial from the executive functions, with respect to police administrations, and with respect to technical education. Yet what has the Government done with regard to these very necessary reforms? As to the separation of the executive and judicial functions it has done absolutely nothing and as to technical education nothing worthy of the name. The question then arises, why this inactivity? On the other hand look at the mischievous activity with respect to the Uncovenanted Civil Service. I ask you will there be this inactivity if we have our own representatives in the Legislative Councils with respect to these important matters of reform? It appears to me that all this covert opposition of the local Governments and their unwillingness to legislate according to our prayer, even when they admit that our prayers are just, arise in this way. They seem to say to themselves, "have we not done and are not still doing a good deal for these people? Why do they still speak of wrongs and grievances? They do not simply come to us for redress of any grievances they have, but they meet and discuss and say they will go to Parliament and to the British nation, which know nothing of them, while we know everything so long as they do so they shall not have what they want, or at least they shall not have it soon. But if we petition what is it they say? Ah! these B. A's these seditionists!" We have been called by our opponents mere place-hunters and self-seekers. This omnibus resolution gives the lie to it. Look at the resolution relating to the police, to accused persons, and particularly to the income tax, and, looking out of our omnibus, look at the resolution relating to the salt tax. Considering these particular matters the present resolution may be called, as it has been called, the poor man's resolution. Our opponents, while they are kind enough to call us by all sorts of names, do not protest against the salt tax or against the abolition of import duties; but they want to do away with the income tax, the only tax that touches them. Under these circumstances well may we say, "save us from our friends!" As to education, while we are twitted with being half-educated B. A's, do they want us to be better men, to be better educated? No. We are not to have even our higher education as it stands; we shall have none of it, no higher education at all. Education makes us seditious. If we want it let us pay for the whole of it. This is their opinion, it is an open secret: but who will say that they are right? With these few remarks I beg to second the resolution (cheers.)

MR. G. S KHAPARDY, in supporting the resolution said he thought that it should be compared not to an omnibus but rather to a casket of jewels.

MR. LALLA DHARAM DAS also supported the resolution. He complained, not that the people, were taxed, because that was necessary, but that they were badly taxed, and urged that a reduction of expenditure was an absolute necessity. It was advancing "by leaps and bounds," and it should be checked forthwith. The Indian people only wanted justice—really not shamed in regard to taxation and representation many noble British statesmen had admitted the justice of their demands, and the people were now anxiously waiting to see what redress would be given to their grievances.

MR. MUNSHI SUDDERIDDEEN having spoken in the Vernacular, and the resolution having been supported by Mr Bishun Pada Chaterjee (Hoogly) it was unanimously adopted by the Congress

Mr. W. S. CAINE, who was received with loud and prolonged applause, said :—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the resolution which I have to submit is as follows: "That this Congress respectfully expresses the earnest hope that in the interest of the people of India the House of Commons will forthwith restore the right formerly possessed by members of that Honourable House of stating to Parliament any matter of grievance of the natives of India before Mr. Speaker leaves the Chair, for the presentation in Committee of the Indian Budget Statement, and earnestly trust that the House of Commons will in future take into consideration the Annual Indian Budget Statement at such a date as will ensure its full and adequate discussions and further authorizes the President, Mr. Pherozshah Mehta, to sign a petition in the name and on behalf of this Congress for presentation to the House of Commons in accordance with the terms of this Resolution.'

This, Sir, is a resolution which has been submitted at previous Congresses but which has not had the effect that the Congresses, desire, for the House of Commons has taken no notice of the petition which was sent from Bombay, and it is therefore important that the resolution should be re-affirmed, not in an omnibus, but in a carriage of its own (Cheers and Laughters); that if possible we may secure the restoration of one of the most important rights which India previously possessed. The old principle, which is almost as old as parliamentary institutions in England, that grievance should come before supply, is one of the rights which are held to more tenaciously by members of Parliament than perhaps any other Parliamentary rights. This is the equivalent of that ancient charter of our liberty that grievance shall come before supply so far as the Indian people are concerned. It is, no doubt, a distinct grievance, and one felt throughout India, that the Budget dealing with the whole finances of British Empire should be discussed on a single evening at the hottest time of the year, at a period when members of Parliament are weary with six months hard work, and when the bulk of them have left London for their holidays ("Shame"). It has long been the custom to treat what I consider one of the most important subjects that come before Parliament with such scant courtesy as that which I have now described. There is no doubt that all Indian questions, with the exception of the Budget itself, are shut out from discussion except under the chances of a ballot. The only mode by which members of Partiament interested in Indian questions can bring them before the House is by balloting for an opportunity of moving a resolution on what is called private member's rights—Tuesday and Friday, when you remember that every Tuesday and Friday while the House sits from 150 to 200 members of Parliament place down different subjects in which they are interested to be balloted upon, you will see that the chances of an Indian question coming on, there being perhaps only three or four members to put such questions down, are about one in fifty, The Bill you have been considering in the first resolution, I am afraid, has no chance of being discussed in the present Parliament, because Mr. Bradlaugh had no good luck with his ballot; and all sorts of questions of the highest importance brought in by bill and by resolution have constantly to give way to questions of minor importance, the movers of which find it impossible to bring down 40 men to the House to disscuss it. In the old times before 1888, when this privilege was taken away, if we missed our

opportunities of bringing Indian grievances before Parliament by resolution on a private member's right, we had the privilege of grievance before supply on the Budget night to fall back upon. That is now gone, and we wish to have it restored. You must remember that the responsibilities of Parliament towards India are increasing every year. More and more India is being brought into touch with England (Cheers.). During the last five years the interest which has been taken by all politicians, especially by Liberal politicians, in the action of the Indian National Congress, has done much to stimulate the interest of English people in India. But as our responsibility increases we find that our powers decrease. There is no doubt that as time goes on every year will bring about an increased interest in India. If it had not been for the early meeting of Parliament during the current year I believe between 30 and 40 members of the House of Commons would have been in India at the present moment studying your questions for themselves and realising their responsibilities (Cheers). I am glad to say that we have one member of Parliament present, but he is the only one, so far as I know, who is now in the country. Now the only way by which Indian grievances can be discussed in public, and opinion taken upon them in India is before the National Congress, and in England before the House of Commons, you, when you get members of Parliament receive them with hospitality, treat them with rare courtesy and kindness, and do the utmost in your power to make them familiar with the wants and aspirations of the Indian people. These "travelling members of Parliament" are not so popular with the governing class as I should like to see them (Laughter). We come here to do what we can to help the authorites of India to govern this country wisely and well; and our good intentions are called in question and our services are not welcomed. We are constantly enabling them to improve their own administration, as you will find affirmed in the resolution which follows the present one. We instructed them two years ago with regard to the administration of one of the most important departments, and they have carried out those instructions with a reasonable amount of fidelity. These travelling members of Partiament will go back to their country, and you will have presently an army in Parliament, an increasing army anxious to discuss what you yourselves cannot discuss in your Parliament and legislate upon for yourselves. Now there is only one way by which India can get rid of the nuisance of travelling M. P.'s who come and poke their noses into their affairs. We in Parliament do not particulary want to be troubled with Indian affairs. We have affairs of our own in which we are deeply intersted, and it is only under compulsion that we take your matters in hand at all. I simply look upon Parliament as holding Indian affairs in trust until this promising child which is present in this building arrives at the age of maturity, and then we shall be glad to give up to our trust to our word. Then if the Government of India dislike, as I believe they dislike the interference of Parliament and of members of Parliament, they can get rid of that interference by acting up to the spirit of the first resolution which you have carried and by admitting you to some share in the representative Government of your own country (Cheers). When that comes our functions are gone, we are no longer required, you can deal with your own affairs without our help; you can, I should expect, vote your own Budget, and we shall be relieved of a considerable responsibility and a considerable burden. I have great pleasure in moving this resolution (Cheers).

MR. R. D. MEHTA briefly supported the Resolution. There were then loud cries for Mr. Yule who was upon the platform. That gentleman was at first unwilling to respond to the appeal, but the urgency with which it was made by the meeting induced him to yield compliance. He briefly expressed his cordial sympathy with the resolution, and said that with an opportunity of discussing the Budget in Parliament he would undertake in the matter of stores alone to save as much as would enable the Government to raise the premium of Income-Tax to one thousand Rupees (Cheers). He felt sure that there was no Government undertaking of a commercial character which was carried on as the Store Department was conducted and no such mode of business could be adopted without a great amount of bribery and corruption. If the resolution were passed in the House of Commons he confidently asserted that the people of India would be relieved of at least one-half of the present amount of Income-Tax. The motion was then unanimously adopted.

MR. D. E. WATCHA, then moved the next Resolution :—That while recognizing the action taken in response to its previous prayers in the matter of Excise Reform by Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India and the Supreme Government here, and noting with pleasure the increase to the import duty on spirits, the taxation imposed on Indian-brewed malt liquors, the decision of the Bengal Government to abolish the outstill system and the closing of over 7000 liquor shops by the Madras Government in 1889-90, this Congress regrets that it is still necessary to urge the Government of India to insist on all Provincial Administrations carrying out in their integrity the policy in matters of Excise enunciated in clauses 103, 104 and 105, of the despatch published in the *Gazette of India* of March 1st, 1890, especially as to sub-section 4 of clause 103 *viz.*—

"That efforts should be made to ascertain the existence of local public sentiment, and that a reasonable amount of deference should be paid to such opinion when ascertained."

The Resolution was seconded by Kashinath Nathoo and supported by Lala Moorlidhar and by Lala Babu Pratap Singh who spoke in Vernacular. Loud calls were made for Mr. Caine, but as that gentleman had so recently spoken he contented himself with rising and formally supporting the Resolution which was then put from the Chair and unanimously adopted.

The Congress was then adjourned to this day at 11 o'clock.

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Holders of any of the above degrees of this University who wish to vote, are requested to appear in person at the Senate House on that day between the hours of 10 A. M, and 5 P. M., and to bring with them either their diplomas or a certificate of identity signed by a member of the Senate.

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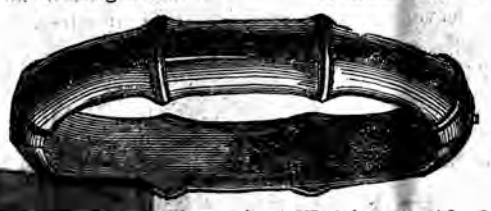

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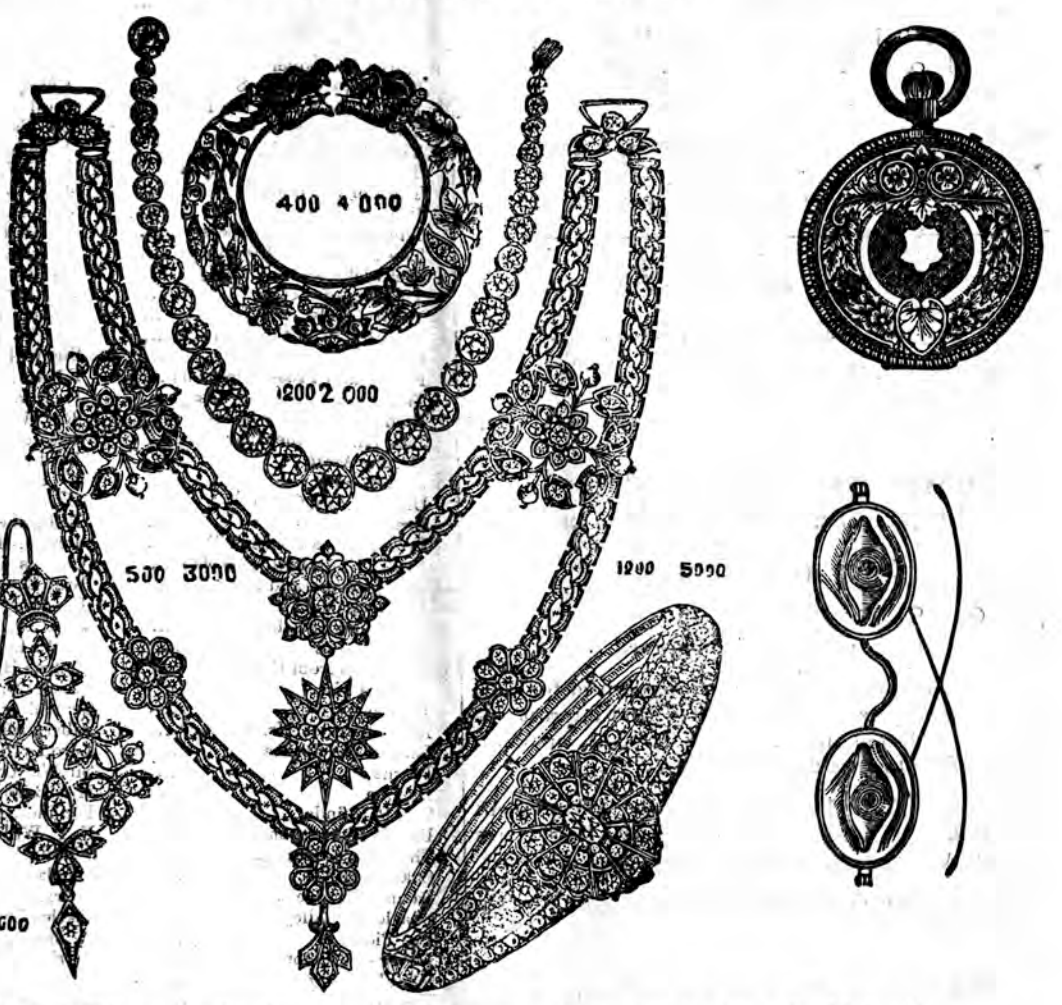

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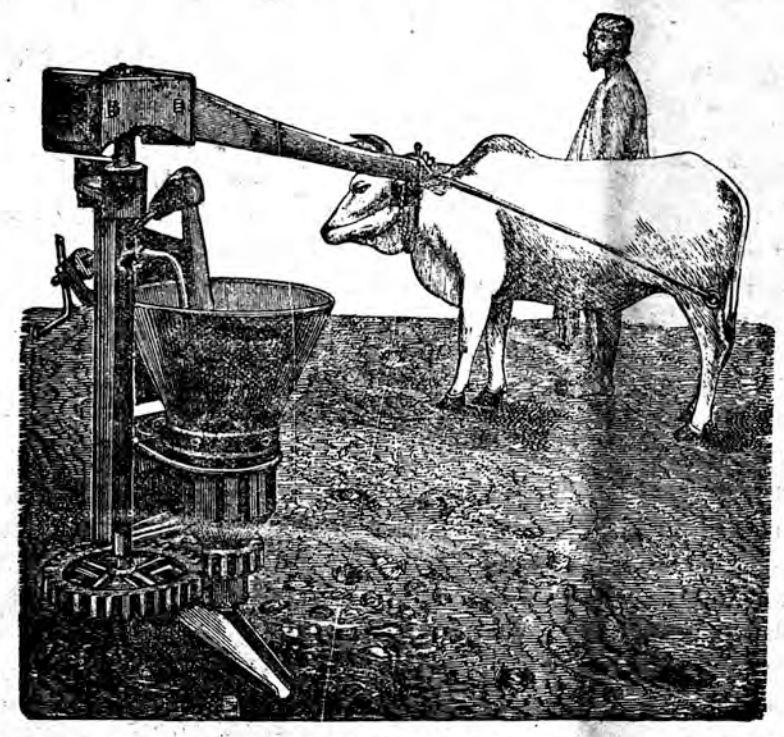

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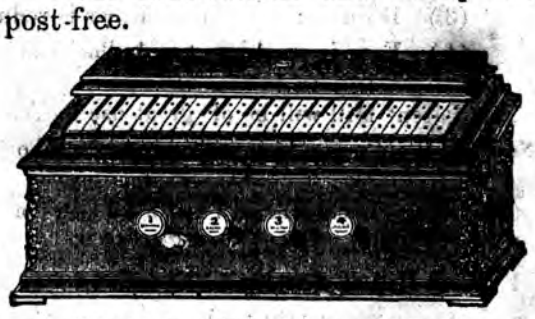

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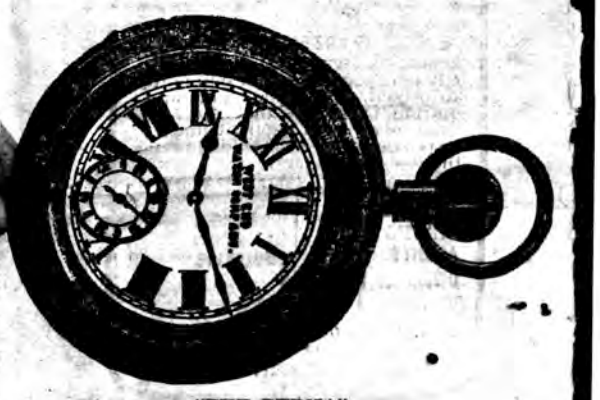

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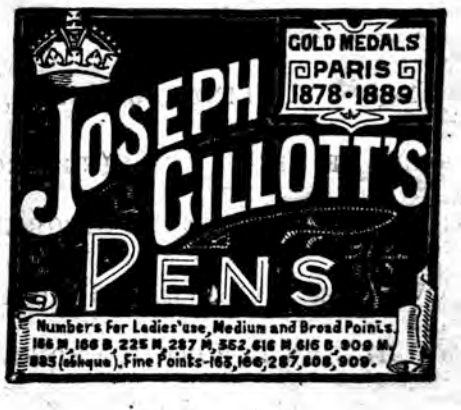
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